1: Karsten--39 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
361 (1928-29)

"Beneath the Sarayacu are a few Indian houses and even a small village, inhabited by mestizos and Indians, called Juanjiri, but for the rest the regions are wholly desert. The same may be said of the Pastaza's middle course, where there are only sundry Indian settlements. These Indians belong to the small Shimigay tribe, who speak Quichua and are now half-civilized. The savage Indians, on the other hand, have retired far away to the unexplored parts of the interior."

1: Karsten--43-44 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
361 (1928-29)

"Like most other savage Indians the Jibaros never settle on the banks of the main rivers, where they are more exposed to their enemies, be they Indians of other tribes or whites, but prefer to construct their large communal houses on some small rivulet in the interior of the country. Consequently, if I wished to visit the Achuares I had to penetrate into a country where most certainly no European had ever put his [44] foot and where the savage Indians lived in absolute independence."

1: Karsten--79-80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
171, 361, 161 (1928-29)

"They [JKM: four Aguaruna Indians Karsten met on Apaga river bank] were really Jibaros. The type is easily recognizable, and the dress and the whole external appearance was the same as that of the Jibaro Indians I had recently visited far away in the Ecuadorian forests. Even the language was in the main the same, although I could at once find considerable dialectal differences. Sometimes they used words which we did not at once understand, but the conversation on the whole proceeded quite nicely. We at once learned that the Aguarunas did not live there close to the river, but about half a day's march into the interior. Those we had met stayed here only temporarily for the sake of hunting and fishing and for this purpose had built themselves a rough hut. It seemed however as if these Indians had intended to stay away for a long time. Like most Indians of the virgin forests the Jibaros are a restless kind of folk who from time to time seek new dwelling-places. In most cases either fear of enemies or of epidemics make them take up their abodes in fresh places. From the information these Indians gave me I learned that the Aguarunas have in recent years been greatly decimated owing to some epidemic. At any rate the Aguarunas living in the region of the Apaga now only formed a comparatively small tribe. The younger of the two Indians, by name Himbikite, offered [80] to take me on the following day to his fellow-tribesmen in the interior, my payment for this service being a nice knife in a sheath."

1: Karsten--94 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 361 (1928-29)

"In describing my journeys among the Jibaro Indians I had occasion to mention repeatedly that the savage Jibaros never settle on the banks of the main rivers, but prefer to make their houses beside small affluents in the interior of the country. The reason for this is obvious: it is due to their constant fear of hostile attacks. By hiding themselves in the forests in the way they do, they not only avoid the whites, who now and then travel along the main rivers, but they are also better protected against hostile Indian tribes. The Jibaro houses are also largely constructed with a view to keeping off uninvited guests; in fact, nearly every house is a sort of fortress, as will be shown in greater detail in the part dealing with the warfare of the Indians."

9: Simson--387 [3] (No date) :880 Jivaro
116, 202, 361

"The Jívaros practise a system of telegraphy, which has at all times been very dangerous to their adversaries in war, by giving strokes on the 'Tunduli,' a large drum, which is heard from house to house, and passed on from hill to hill. The houses are all over their territories at convenient distances for the purpose; and in this manner very varied information is conveyed in a few moments to all the families of hordes dispersed over a large extent of country. This was the greatest danger the Spaniards had to contend with, and is still a main source of protection to these Indians, as they can rouse large numbers at a moment's notice, and sound the alarm through entire hordes."

4: Up de Graff--187-189 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 361, 576, 721

"We noticed a sheltered creek on the left bank which had not been visible before. A few strokes more and it was in view. On the hillside above, some two hundred yards from the bank, a bright yellow patch among the dark-green forest, stood a Jívaro shack. [188]

The sight of that hut on the hillside was as good to us as water to a man dying in the Sahara. We felt a new strength, and the word 'fear' had no meaning for us. All we thought of at that moment was that there lay our goal, a few hundred yards ahead. Of the difficulties and dangers which lay in our path, not one thought crossed our minds. To push ahead was all that mattered.

And then we saw human life. Four Antipas, long-haired and stark naked, were crossing the stream ahead of us in a dugout. Indifferent as to the effect it might have on them, we gave a yell, in which was voiced all the pent-up joy which was in our hearts at meeting our own kind after the weary search which lay behind us. If we had stopped to think a moment, we should gave realized that a whoop such as we let fly could carry but one message to a Jívaro--war. Those four in that dugout did not even stop to turn their craft. They stood up, faced about, and paddled hard astern for their lives, throwing the water eight full feet into the air, and racing for the left bank where (as they thought) safety lay. No sooner had they landed than the Boom-boom, Boom-boom of the call to arms came floating across the water to us, to be taken up in fifty settlements all round the country. Clearly it was to be war. Little we cared, however--not because we were particularly brave, but rather particularly hungry. And after all, [189] approaching on the water and

armed with Winchesters, we had little to fear from spears. Following the flying dugout we came upon some twenty more pulled up on the beach, and we made our way to the landing-place and hauled ashore. Then broke out a storm of war-whooping and howling which beggars description. The object, of course, was to impress us with the idea that we were faced by innumerable warriors. There was nothing, or almost nothing, to be seen of the savages, sheltered as they were behind the thick palisades of split palms which surrounded their huts and which could be guaranteed to stop even a bullet from our rifles."

4: Up de Graff--192-193 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 101, 361, 721

"A few words about this tribe will not come amiss, as they played such an important part in our personal history during our search for the Inca gold, and are, indeed, one of the only six known head-hunting tribes of the Amazon zone, grouped under the common name Jívaros, the others (all their enemies) being the Huambizas or Pantecunas, the Aguarunas, the Muratos and the Zaparos. To form an estimate of the relative strengths of these peoples is more than I dare attempt; their migratory habits and their custom of living in small scattered settlements hidden in the dense jungle makes it an impossible task. Indeed, one of the main points of their policy is to conceal from one another not only their whereabouts but also their fighting strength, even going so far as never to use the same trail twice, if possible, in approaching their homes. For these reasons an air of complete mystery surrounds the whole region, [193] and the casual white invader stands no chance of obtaining accurate statistics."

4: Up de Graff--202-203 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 221, 361, 241

"The Antipas, then, are semi-nomadic. The year for them is divided into three parts, not corresponding to the seasons as we know them, but to the capacity of the crops which they plant for keeping them alive; that is to say, they have three distinct homes, some ten or twenty miles apart, each with its own clearing (chacra in Inca), between which they divide their time. At each homestead they plant fresh crops before leaving for the next, living the while on the produce they find waiting for them on arrival, the result of the last sowing. Each crop takes about eight months to mature, on an average. The exception, of course, is the banana-plant, which bears fruit for many years; the old plant dies each year, after bearing one bunch of fruit, but automatically there spring [203] up round the roots fresh shoots which bear the next year.

Living as they do well to the west of the area which is annually inundated, and consequently being free from dependance on the seasons, they can sow at any time of the year, with the certainty of reaping at the end of the unvarying number of months which are needed in order that the crop may ripen. Yuca, for instance, is ready in six months; Indian corn in three months; yams (a potato which grows three to four feet in length and fifty pounds in weight) in a year; sweet potatoes, peanuts, and tobacco are also cultivated in large quantities."

5: Reyes and Teran--118-119 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 101, 361

"The native tribes are grouped more by language divisions than by ethnic differences, and the Pastaza river is the dividing line. Those who speak Quechua live to the north of this line, while those speaking Jivaro live to the south. Neither group lives in settlements, [191] as it is their custom to live in isolation in the depths of the forest, even though they do not keep entirely away from the settlements of the whites, with whom they maintain commercial relations through trading gold or some other native product for trinkets, in which they manifest particular interest."

5: Reyes and Teran--123-125 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 167, 361

"Macas is the largest settlement in the forest. It is about as well or perhaps better established as was Sevilla del Oro, destroyed by the Jivaros in the Sixteenth century. Located 1091 meters above sea level on the banks of the Upano, it has about 1,000 inhabitants, and in the midst of such isolation, boasts such remarkable advancements as electric light service, a hospital, etc. It is more or less at the latitude of Alausí, and may be reached most easily from Cuenca, in the south.

Méndez, founded by Eudólfilo Alvarez in 1913, has been converted into a major gold market. Located on the banks of the Paute, at an elevation of 700 meters, in a gorge which does not permit much [124] agricultural development, it is, on the other hand, the headquarters for an immense floating population which searches avidly for the precious metal in the sands of the river. There are about 600 permanent inhabitants.

Mera, at the gateway to the forest, where the canyon of the Pastaza widens and loses itself on the great plain, is attracting a large stream of immigrants because of its climate and fertility. These newcomers will soon transform the place into an agricultural center of much importance. The town has in the neighborhood of 200 inhabitants. Very near to it is the settlement of Puyo, which has excellent possibilities for future development.

Tena and Archidona are the oldest and most firmly established towns of the Napo region. While the former has made notable progress thanks to its Josefino missions,

the latter, on the other hand, has declined greatly, in spite of having been, in former times, the key to the Oriente.

Rocafuerte, at the confluence of the Aguarico with the Napo, is the most [125] remote settlement of our effective domain in the Oriente. It is the center of the main military garrison of the Oriente; its scant 180 meters of elevation gives it an essentially tropical climate which is quite exhausting. Also on the left bank of the Napo, and separated from Rocafuerte only by a slight depression of the terrain, is the Peruvian garrison of Cabo Pantoja. The isolation of Rocafuerte from the other population centers of Ecuador makes it necessary for its inhabitants to be subjected to the economic despotism of the Peruvian markets.

Zamora, Gualaquiza, Indanza, Sucúa, Puerto Napo, Arapicos, Canelos, and Baeza are settlements of less importance, but all are in the midst of fertile zones which only await better means of communication to attract intensive colonization."

12: Rivet--583 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361

The Jíbaros never live united in villages. Their homes are found scattered in the middle of the forest. These settlements are never permanent; in fact, the savages change their residence frequently, every six years on the average (1). The dwelling is always located near a stream, in the middle of a little cultivated land; no defined road leads to it, and only the Indians are able to recognize the trace of a pathway invisible to strangers in the labryinth of trees and thick underbrush.

---

1. "Informe del Ilmo. Sr. D. Fr. Manuel Plaza," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 395.

12: Rivet--617 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361, 202

We have seen with what care the Indian hides his house in the deepest woods with no regular path to it, this placing having no other point except to multiply the difficulties for anyone coming to attack. The walls leave no opening by which anyone could introduce a lance. In every house big pots of water are always ready on boards resting on the roof beams, in order to put out fire quickly. The tunduli plays an essential role in these nocturnal attacks. It is the tocsin which, with incredible rapidity, calls the members of the tribe to the aid of the besieged.

18: Hermessen--442 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 342, 462, 361

"Within a radius of several miles from Jamboé there were several Jîbaro houses, each standing alone in a separate clearing a little way back from the river, with a belt of forest interposed, so that they were effectually concealed from view from the water. All were exactly alike--rectangular in plan, with rounded ends, about 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, and constructed of bamboo on a framework of big poles lashed together with lianas. At either end was a door of solid wood, usually kept securely bolted on the inside. The roof was high-pitched and made of palm thatch. Several families of blood relations lived together in one house. There was no partition between the quarters of the men and those of the women, as Orton and others have noted as a detail of the dwellings of the Indians (Záparos) on the Napo and other rivers of the Oriente province of Ecuador, (18) but the rear portion was always allotted to the females."

"18. James Orton: The Andes and the Amazon, New York, 1876, p. 171."

20: Dyott--151 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
361

"When least expecting it, we suddenly came upon Kuashu's abode in a secluded section of the forest. It was built on rising ground, with juca and bananas growing plentifully all about it. Strategically, the place was well-chosen. A hillock surrounded with boggy land is about as immune from attack as anything could be. Marauding bands of Indians would find it difficult to approach such a place by day unless familiar with the lie of the land; at night it would be next to impossible to avoid detection."

20: Dyott--160 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 361

"Jivaro houses, it might be noted, are never built closely together after the manner of a village, but widely separated in the jungle, with greater resultant personal freedom and less squabbling amongst neighbours. A wise precaution which we in our country might emulate to advantage."

26: Brüning--46 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 131, 166

The Indians are inhabitants of a region which extends along the upper course of the Marañón River, from Yusamaro downward to Puerto Meléndez at the Pongo de Manseriche. They live in this region in small and widely dispersed settlements close to the banks of the River. I have been informed that their chief settlements are located farther up along the tributary rivers. Beyond Yusamaro no Indians are said to remain anymore, yet formerly their settlements are said to have extended to the Pongo Rentema. They had moved down to the Marañón River on account of the quarrels they had with the whites or, rather, the mestizos. Their settlements can not be called permanent anyway. Despite the fact that the Indians live at one place for a long time, and in relatively permanent dwellings at that, they are said to leave their settlements frequently for no special reason in order to reestablish themselves again at some distance from the former settlement.

26: Brüning--50-51 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361

The Indians like to dwell in the vicinity of rivers. Once they have found a suitable spot, they start by clearing out a lot. [51] Such clearing is necessary everywhere, for there is no territory without forest. On the clearing a temporary hut is built out of the timber which the clearing process had yielded. More trees are then cut down to obtain a larger area for the fields where they plant Yucca, corn, cotton, bananas, and maní. This field is as a rule somewhat removed from the house and in the middle of the forest. I have not been able to find out the reason for this. They do it perhaps because there is no suitable land close to the river, where the huts are set up, or for some other reason. As they go along, they collect the material for their permanent home. The erection of the permanent dwelling is a slow process, and occasionally it may take several years before it is ready since they work on it only seldom and with long interruptions.

26: Brüning--52 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 103

It is the rule that a settlement consists of only one house. Two houses, as I had seen them, for instance, in S. Antonio, are rarely found together. The various houses form, however, larger or smaller groups, separated from each other by forest and yet connected with each other by narrow footpaths. One such group has a definite name.

28: Tessman--361
116, 361

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

The single house is the typical form of Chiwaro settlement.

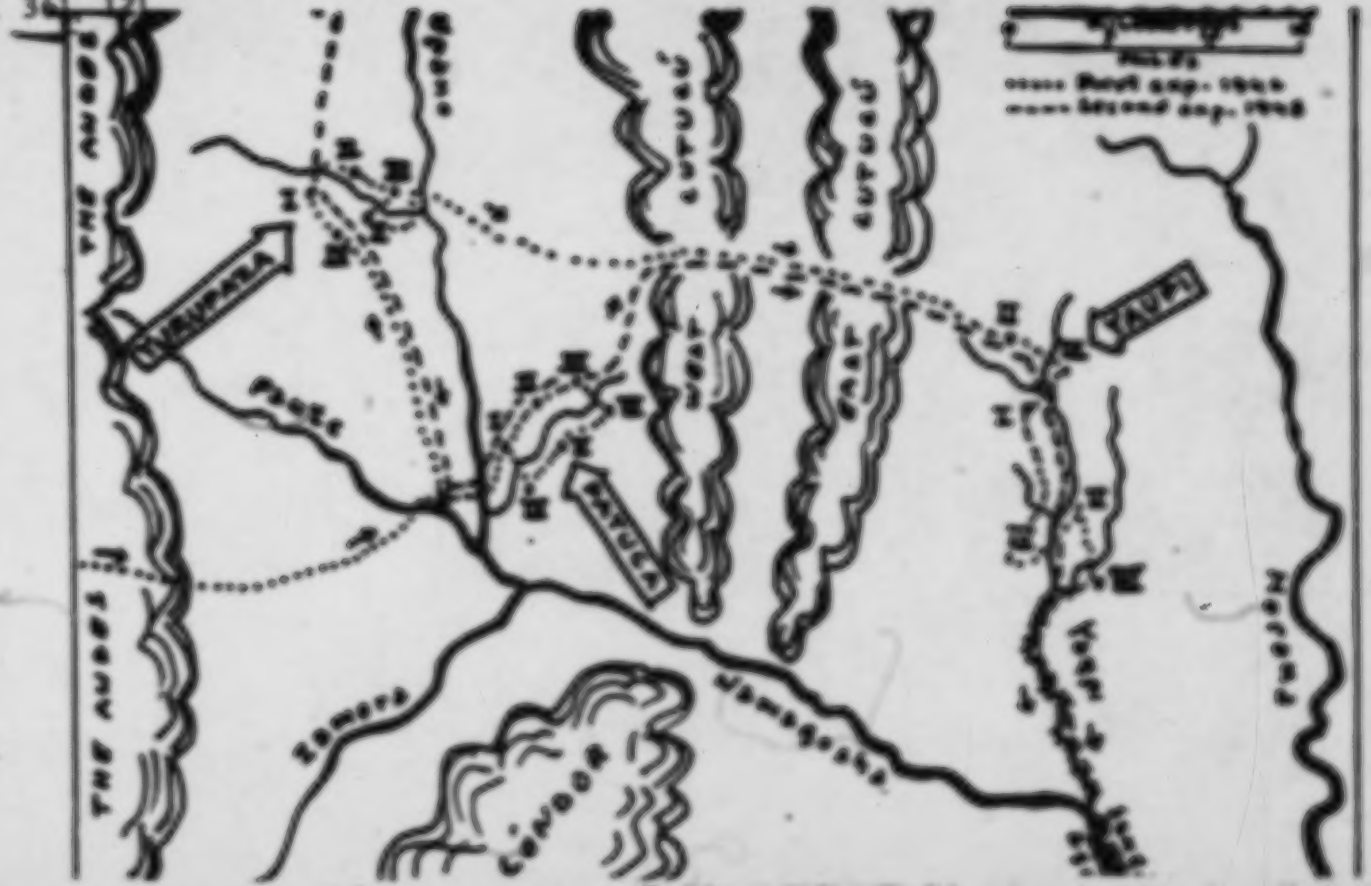
31; Danielsson--84 [3] (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 134, 361

"As the rains are very heavy and frequent the uppermost thin layer of humus is washed away from the fields in a few years time. Consequently the Jibaros stay in the same place only as long as the fields are able to produce crops, and then leave to find a new dwelling-place. (This seems to be the real reason for their semi-nomadic character, frequently ascribed to the so-called 'wandering instinct.') Usually they move around within a very limited area."

31; Danielsson--84-86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 592, 342, 361

"The only social unit is the family, which term is used for deecribing all individuals related by birth or by intermarriage and living in the same house. Each such house forms an independent social, political and economic [86] unit. The houses have large dimensions (fifty by one hundred feet is not an uncommon size), and a house may contain up to fifty persons. The family houses are scattered in sparse clusters along the rivulets. Two houses are seldom found together, and the distance between the separate houses generally varies from one to five miles. (The locations of each family house dealt with in this study are shown with Roman figures on Map II. The houses indicated are all that exist in the mapped area.)"

31: Danielsson--87 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 361 121


THE ANDES
MACAS
SUCUA
SUCUA
SUCUA
SUCUA
MACAS
SUCUA
SUCUA
SUCUA
SUCUA

/SD9 cont./

491 dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Macas into their own custody.

C-GE Macas, 1,011 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest. A large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priest, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 700 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Macas, as well as those of Peiro and Suiag, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language, /SD9/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited. Corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived 186 in deep remoteness under their priestly tyrant, the Ilkans, however, insisted upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up 797 with such unworthy treatment and scornfully rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion.

• 361 As has already been mentioned, Macas lies deep in the territory of the Ilkans. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Macas, lie their large ranches, [487] narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

/330 cont./ Each house

361 lies alone by itself, as though lost in the forest, and is usually
394 inhabited by only one family, rarely by several. In approach-
526 ing, certain precautionary measures must be observed to ensure
516 a friendly reception. The visit is announced from a great dis-
[24] tance by shouting, but in the immediate vicinity of the house
one clutches in absolute silence. This is done in order to
demonstrate peaceful intent, since during an attack the Dyaks
sneak quietly through the forest, but then rushes with a loud war
whoop across the open plaza to the house.

342 The houses, the tambas, are real forest palaces, ex-
124 tremely clean and regularly built, with successful utilization
of the materials provided by the forest. The high roof, beauti-
fully plaited out of palm leaves, is supported by several rows
of slender columns, the faultless trunks of giant palms. the
rafters are decoratively arranged in such a way that they can be
considered ornamentation. The walls all around, made of tightly
fitted split bamboo, fill hardly half the space between the floor
and the edge of the roof, so that air comes in freely and yet
342 protection against a fast attack is assured. Each house exhibits
two doors, one on the straight front wall, the other in the center
of the semicircular, projecting rear-side. The house of a
young chief was 87 feet long, 60 feet wide, and about 35 feet
353 high, an airy, beautiful building. The front third served as a
sort of reception room. Shield and drum were hung on the palm
trunks supporting the roof. special contrivances permit the
secure placement of the lances and blowgun, whose quivers
352 are put near the fires. /331/ Some low sitting-benches carved
out of wood take the place of chairs. low benches made out of
split bamboo are placed along the walls, and several looms of
the same type serve as couches for the men so that they may take
a siesta during the day. These latter contrivances are peculiar
in that there is space on them for the body only about to the
knee, but the feet rest on a slender conveyance supported by
359 two forks for the support of the freely projecting leg. Directly
in front of this pedestal a very smoky fire burns continuously.

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

101
102
133
619
103
[135]
563
[648]
487
[361]
797

MAP 1

Distribution of the Jívaro, or western Indians, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly until the ninth year of occupancy.

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house, the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

A family averaging only about nine persons typically occupies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

533
539

When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilo-
131 meters).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de
161 Curucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
184 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *miatuá entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jívaro on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, e.g., *nimiá inarí* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jívaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kayaim inarí* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri inarí* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jívaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jívaro society.

101 103 184

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jívaro households are very close-knit economic and social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next; but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

361 592

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one

592 595

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

18. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1921, p. 56.
19. Karsten, 1935, p. 6.
30. Anonymous, 1921, pp. 32–33, 58.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jivaro.
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 178, 191. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 276 Jivaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 189–93.
36. Macabeo and Jivaro oral histories.

CHAPTER 2

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is still distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short-term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,892 mm. at Gualaquiza to 1,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 91 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 23.2 degrees Centigrade (Fordon, 1951, pp. 73–74).
2. Cf. Steere, 1951, p. 65.
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1961, p. 183) I questioned whether the Jivaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nunkui and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general.
4. Datura lack blood.

CHAPTER 10

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jivaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1961, p. 133; 1963, p. 9; 1966b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

reported by Danielsen (1949, p. 68) whose Jivaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 40 persons, with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Danielsen's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Danielsen's neighborhoods, Peruca and Yutupeza, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censo, 1954, pp. 136, 141) of Jivaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jivaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956-57. A comparison of the SIL Jivaro house count with the census figures for the Jivaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Peruca and Yutupeza neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Danielsen's "locally" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

1. Muratorio, 1980, p. 80.

3. In the Jivaro language *kakaram* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakaram* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of one and to order to avoid confusion.

4. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of amistrading partners in Jivaro culture antedates ca. 1900, although its intensification and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jivaro *amistá* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The Interior Jivaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *hermano* (compadre) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jivaro without the implications of personal obligation.

NOTES TO

1. *Awajun* may also be pronounced *awarma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1978) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

2. Salomon, 1977, pp. 581, 590.

3. Castrodo, 1988, and Harner, 1973.